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## THE THEORY OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY—III

THE EDITORS

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7

## THE PLUNDERED CONTINENT

PAUL JOHNSON

## *The African Personality*

SHIRLEY GRAHAM

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EDITORS . LEO HUBERMAN . PAUL M. SWEEZY

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## NOTES FROM THE EDITORS

We returned from Cuba just in time to get this issue ready for press. A report on latest developments in Cuba will appear in the December issue (it will also be included as an additional chapter in a number of foreign-language editions of *Cuba: Anatomy of a Revolution*).

Some of our more fanciful detractors have been trying to make us responsible for the rapid leftward shift of Cuba in recent months. Would that we could claim the credit! Actually, the truth is even stranger: the responsibility (and credit) belongs to Washington's policy of trying to smash the Cuban Revolution. Meanwhile, gratifying evidence that we are doing our mite for socialism in the world comes from Ghana. "The Convention People's Party [the ruling party in Ghana]," reports A. M. Rosenthal in a dispatch from Accra which appeared in the *New York Times* of

(*continued on inside back cover*)

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## THE THEORY OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY—III

The argument of the preceding parts of this essay on American foreign policy can be summed up in the following four propositions:

(1) The primary purpose of foreign policy under conditions of developed monopoly capitalism is to provide the justification for the maintenance of a huge (and growing) military establishment. This is the only acceptable way to keep the economy going at anything approaching a reasonable level of income and employment, and it is an indispensable condition for the preservation of a far-flung and readily exploitable economic empire.

(2) Here we have the basic explanation of America's postwar foreign policy of global anti-Communism with its corollary of cold war and arms race. But cold war and arms race, not to mention entrapment in America's imperial noose, are diametrically opposed to the national interests of the underdeveloped countries. Hence a long, and of late accelerating, succession of defeats for United States foreign policy.

(3) These defeats have led to no modifications, still less alteration, of American foreign policy for the simple reason that as yet they have had but little impact on the domestic economy.

(4) This situation, however, is unlikely to continue indefinitely. The few hundred giant corporations which dominate American life have taken on an increasingly "multinational" character in the last decade, operating directly or through foreign subsidiaries and partnerships throughout the so-called "free world." As the "free world" contracts—and this is more and more frequently the form that foreign policy defeats are taking—the vital interests of these corporate giants will be increasingly affected.

Before attempting to assess the possible consequences of these developments for United States foreign policy, let us take note of a few figures which have become available since Part II of this essay was written.



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As of 1959 total United States private investment abroad was $44.8 billion. Of this amount $29.7 billion was "direct" investment in foreign branches, subsidiaries, and affiliates.

Total sales by American-owned enterprises abroad in 1957 came to $32 billion. Over $3.5 billion of these sales were to the United States, accounting for more than a quarter of United States imports in that year.

Sales of American-owned manufacturing firms abroad in 1957 were 50 percent higher than exports of comparable goods from the United States. In other words, for American business as a whole foreign operations are much more important than export trade.

Earnings from direct investment enterprises in 1957 were more than $3.5 billion—a very handsome return whether calculated as a rate of profit on investment (12 percent) or as a margin on sales (11 percent).*

Finally, in order to lend perspective to the picture, let us draw on another source. According to *Business Week* (January 3, 1959), "of the 100 largest industrial corporations (ranked by 1957 domestic sales) 99 are involved today in one or another kind of overseas operation. . . . All told, at least 3,000 U.S. companies have money invested directly in foreign production and distribution. Working alongside these operating companies are dozens of U.S. engineering and contracting outfits, management and marketing consultants, and the foreign branches of U.S. banks." Moreover, according to the same source, "many U.S. executives now predict a doubling in sales from foreign operations in the next 10 years."

If only the "free world" would remain free (for private enterprise) and intact! But it won't—not if things go on as they have been in the recent past. And as long as United States foreign policy remains what it is, there is every reason to expect not only that these trends will persist but that they will be accelerated. As more and more countries break away from the "free world" and enter the road of national and international

* Samuel Pizer and Frederick Cutler (of the Department of Commerce), "United States Foreign Investments: Measures of Growth and Economic Effects," *Survey of Current Business,* September 1960. This article summarizes the results of a detailed census of foreign investments covering the year 1957 and adds data for later years.



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economic planning, the field of operations open to United States Big Business will contract. The rosy visions of a future of unlimited expansion and juicy profits will fade; the present level of foreign operations will recede; American-owned investments will be expropriated against little or no compensation; export markets will be lost; needed imports will become more expensive and in some cases perhaps unobtainable. The course of Cuban-American relations in the last two years shows the whole process, in microcosm as it were. This is a case in which history is likely to repeat itself not once but many times in a future which it is probably safe to measure in years rather than decades.

This is not the place to speculate on the timing and geography of America's decline as a world power—when the next blow will fall and whether it will be in Iran, or the Congo, or Spain, or Peru, or South Vietnam. All and many, many more are possibilities—and each defection from the "free world" will smooth the way for the next. Nor is it possible to trace with any pretense to accuracy the impact of successive blows on the giant multinational corporations or on the United States domestic economy as a whole. All than can be said with assurance is that the effects will be negative and cumulative from both points of view—individual corporations will be more or less hard hit according to the degree of their involvement in affected areas, and the economy as a whole will be subjected to a variety of downward pressures operating on and through the aggregative variables which control the level of economic activity: profits, consumption, investment, the trade balance, the payments deficit, and so on.

If this reasoning is sound, it follows that sooner or later foreign policy defeats will take their place among the factors exercising a decisive influence on the economic fortunes of the American ruling class (and indirectly, of course, on the well-being of the rest of the American people as well). The problem then arises as to the reaction of the ruling class, or more specifically of the corporate elite which constitutes its effective leadership. Can an alternative and more successful foreign policy be devised? If so, is it likely to be adopted?

The answer to the first of these questions is, almost cer-



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tainly, yes. Nor is there any mystery about the guiding lines of such a policy.

(1) All the nonsensical dogmas of global anti-Communism would have to be junked—that Communism is an evil conspiracy against humanity, that Russia is out to conquer the world, that the United States is in imminent danger of an atomic Pearl Harbor, and so on and so forth. There is no rational basis for any of these articles of anti-Communist faith; their purpose is simply to justify the cold war and the arms race, which are precisely what have to be liquidated as a precondition to a successful foreign policy.

(2) Having abandoned doctrinaire anti-Communism (which of course does not imply becoming pro-Communist: the belief that it does is simply another of the dogmas that stand in the way of rational thought and action), the United States would be in a position to begin negotiating a settlement of the main issues of the cold war on terms that take account of the real relation of forces in the world today. This would mean recognizing China and liquidating the commitment to Chiang Kai-shek, encouraging Japan to pursue its own interests by joining India as a neutral Asian power, and moving for a German settlement along lines of military disengagement and political neutralization.

(3) With the tensions of the cold war eased, the next step would be to take up the disarmament question seriously and in good faith. Any move, however modest, toward halting and reversing the arms race (for example, a nuclear test ban) would further relax tensions and make additional progress easier.

(4) We come now to relations with the underdeveloped countries, the area in which the United States has suffered its worst defeats throughout the postwar period. What is required here is not, as most liberals seem to imagine, more economic aid. Economic aid has its place and under certain circumstances may be a powerful weapon. But it is bound to fail if tied to a policy that equates revolution with Communism and Communism with the devil, for then economic aid will be used purely and simply to preserve the *status quo*—which means to bolster up the social institutions and classes that are keeping the underdeveloped countries in a state of underdevelopment. A success-



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ful policy toward the underdeveloped countries—as the Soviet Union well understands—must start with the frank recognition of the inevitability and legitimacy of revolutions aimed at basic social reforms. The United States obviously couldn't foment revolutions, nor would it have to. It would simply have to take a realistic attitude toward revolutionary movements that already exist and lend them much needed assistance when they succeed.

It might be objected that such a policy would amount to helping the underdeveloped countries to defect from the "free world" and would hence, for reasons already set forth, be diametrically opposed to the interests of America's multinational corporations. This objection is based on a misunderstanding of the politics of underdeveloped countries. Every revolutionary movement contains moderate and radical elements, and many revolutionary leaders move from one camp to the other according to the circumstances of time and place. The moderate elements want no more social reform than absolutely necessary, hope for assistance from the advanced capitalist countries, and have no desire to depart from the "free world." Whether the moderates or the radicals achieve power in the aftermath of the revolution depends very largely on the attitudes and policies of the advanced capitalist countries. If the latter are respectful, sympathetic, and reasonably generous, the moderates can entrench themselves in power. On the other hand, if the advanced capitalist countries adopt an attitude of hostility toward the new regime and throw their weight behind the forces which would restore the *staus quo ante,* then the leadership of the revolution inevitably passes into more radical hands. In the extreme case, this can—and in the future probably will with increasing frequency—lead to complete withdrawal from the "free world."

This process can be seen with crystal clarity in the case of two of the most important revolutions of recent years, the Egyptian and the Cuban. Nasser started his political career as an enthusiastic westernizer and admirer of Britain. His aims in the area of social reform were limited to getting rid of the corrupt monarchy and instituting a land reform in favor of the small peasant. If the Western powers had treated Nasser with a modicum of tact and sense, they would have had a loyal friend



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and ally, and Egypt after the land reform would have been a better place for multinational corporations to do business in than it was before. Instead the Western powers—in this case led by Britain—insulted Nasser and tried to dictate policies to him by first promising and then withholding aid for the Aswan Dam. When he countered by nationalizing the Suez Canal, Britain and France resorted to open military aggression. As a result of these harsh experiences, Nasser took several long steps in the radical direction, nationalizing domestic industry, embracing a neutralist foreign policy, and accepting Soviet aid for the Aswan Dam. Nasser, as R. H. S. Crossman has aptly said, "is the supreme modern example of the revolutionary *malgré lui*."* And for this the Western powers have no one but themselves to blame.

The case of Cuba is not so easy to document, but no one familiar with recent Cuban history can doubt that if the United States had been sympathetic and helpful toward the revolutionary government that came to power on January 1, 1959, the subsequent course of events would have been very different from what it has been. Fidel Castro started as more of a radical than Nasser, but all the same his main interests were similar—to overthrow the corrupt Batista tyranny and to carry out a land reform. He certainly had no intention to disrupt trade relations with the United States or to nationalize American property except as provided in the Agrarian Reform Law. If Washington had adopted a positive attitude toward the land reform and come through with a loan at a time when Cuba, owing to the depradations of Batista, was facing a foreign exchange crisis, there is every reason to believe that the moderates who held most of the key positions in the revolutionary government in the early days would have been able to entrench themselves in power and to keep Fidel with them. In that case, there need never have been an oil crisis or a cut in the sugar quota, and the comprehensive socialization of the Cuban economy which these events touched off would certainly not have occurred. Moreover, we can say of Cuba, as of Egypt, that after the land reform it would have offered better markets and investment op-

* In a very interesting review of *Nasser's New Egypt*, by Keith Wheelock, in the *New Statesman*, August 20, 1960.



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portunities to American corporations—though, to be sure, they would have had to treat the Cubans as equals rather than as inferior "natives." But instead of pursuing an enlightened policy along the lines indicated, Washington set out to sabotage, undermine, and eventually overthrow the Cuban revolutionary regime. The result was predictable and is now history. Cuba, with Fidel in the lead, countered American hostility by moving rapidly to the Left. (We happen to believe that in the long run this will turn out to have been a good thing both for Cuba and for the rest of Latin America—but not for reasons that can be expected to appeal to the American ruling class!) The men of Washington had their chance to keep Cuba in the "free world"; instead, they acted in such a way as to push her out.

Clearly, an alternative and potentially more successful foreign policy is available. Its basic prerequisite is simply that the United States realistically assess the great historical forces of our time and work with them rather than against them. We return now to the second question: whether the American ruling class, when it really begins to suffer from the failures of its present course, can be expected to diagnose the situation correctly and alter its policies accordingly.

The answer to this question, it seems to us, is definitely no. In support of this view we offer the following considerations:

(1) A fundamentally altered foreign policy would have immense implications for every aspect of American society. Global anti-Communism has brought with it the institutionalization of thought control, the virtual outlawing of dissent, the crippling of intellectual life, the moronization of public opinion. These are so many props to the rule of a class whose wealth and privileges are but the obverse of the irrationality and waste and inhumanity which are such overwhelmingly prominent features of American life today. It is very hard to imagine this class's deliberately dismantling these props, and yet that is precisely what the abandonment of the dogmas of anti-Communism would imply.

(2) Perhaps even more important, the end of the arms race would put a stop to the expansion of the war-oriented public sector of the economy, and disarmament would lead to its contraction. In the absence of strong counteracting influences,



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the effects on the domestic economy would be disastrous. Since it is now obvious that such counteracting influences could not be expected from the private sector—quite the contrary: the expansive forces which have been operating in the private sector since the war are now in the process of petering out—it follows that a logical and necessary counterpart of a new foreign policy would be a new New Deal at home on a quite unprecedented scale. There is unfortunately no evidence to suggest that the American ruling class is capable of initiating and carrying through, or even imagining for that matter, a welfare program on the required scale. What is more likely is that it would (not without justification) regard such a program as a threat to its privileges to be fought against by every available means.

(3) Apart from these practical implications of a changed foreign policy—implications which are manifestly unacceptable to the beneficiaries of the present social order—there are other reasons for doubting the capacity of the American ruling class to react creatively to the failure of its present foreign policy. These reasons have to do with the drastic limitations of vision and understanding that are imposed on the members of the class as a result of their inherited values, their family and school indoctrination, their commitment to a way of life that naturally seems to them just and good. Above all, they cannot understand, let alone admit, that at the bottom of the fearful crises and upheavals of our time lie the explosive contradictions of the very system with which they are so closely identified. As a result, of course, they have absolutely no rational explanation of what is happening in the world. But the human mind *must* have explanations: if rational ones are lacking it substitutes irrational ones. And the myth of the Communist devil as the source of all evil is the most readily available, comprehensive, and emotionally satisfying of all the irrational explanations that might be invented. Anti-Communism is therefore much more than a convenient doctrine to justify the cold war and the arms race; it is also the combined ideology and religion of monopoly capitalism. To imagine that it can be abandoned in favor of a rational analysis of and prescription for the ills and problems of American society is unfortunately, but almost certainly, an illusion. The American ruling class is not only unwilling to face



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the implications of fundamentally altering its foreign policy; it is not even capable of understanding why its present policy is failing or what would have to be put in its place in order to avoid more and worse failures in the future.

The implications of this analysis are unfortunately all too clear: the United States is going to plunge along its present disastrous international course, suffering defeat after defeat, *even after these defeats have begun to inflict increasingly direct and serious losses on the giant corporations that dominate American life.*

But if this is so, it is possible to go one step further and predict that these new woes, far from bringing the ruling class to its senses, will lead to an intensification of the cult of the Communist devil. Not less but more anti-Communism, more cold war, more arms race are to be expected. And of course more defeats. And bigger defeats.

Where will it all end?

One possibility is economic collapse.

Present-day monopoly capitalism is essentially an international system. It needs a big "free world" to live in. If its living space progressively contracts, and if its present structural characteristics were to remain unchanged, a crisis comparable in scope and severity to that which overtook the capitalist world in the early 1930's would be the logical outcome.

Such a crisis, needless to say, would create an entirely new situation, about which there is no need to speculate here. Suffice it to say that the breaking of the spell of capitalist prosperity would doubtless bring the people back onto the political stage in their own right and not simply as support for this or that ruling class faction. If and when that day arrives we may begin to emerge from the nightmare world in which we are now condemned to live.

Unfortunately, however, there is no assurance that it will arrive. Structural changes in monopoly capitalism that would permit it to survive as "capitalism in one country" are conceivable. The multinational corporations would have to turn increasingly inward, a process which could be facilitated and rendered less painful by government indemnification for assets lost abroad. The reduction in demand resulting from a shrink-



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age of exports could be compensated by increased military and civil defense expenditures.* The government could take over the importing function, dealing on a barter basis with non-"free world" countries. To the extent that needed imports became scarce or unobtainable, the government could institute a system of rationing and/or pour the necessary funds into a scientific search for satisfactory import substitutes.

Given the enormous productivity of American industry (much of it unrealized under present conditions) and the fantastic potentialities of modern science, there is little reason to doubt the feasibility of an autarchic program of this kind for a country as large and with as diversified resources as the United States. What would be required would not be any great sacrifice of real income but rather a thoroughgoing system of government controls over the economy. It would all add up to more isolation, more militarism, and more regimentation.

A concise blueprint for military fascism, you may say. Quite so. It *can* happen here.

(October 18, 1960)

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* The potentialities of civil defense as an absorber of otherwise unutilizable economic surplus are quite literally unlimited. Already, according to Harrison Brown (the Cal Tech scientist) and James Real, there is a strong probability that within the next few years the United States "will embark on a crash shelter program for a large proportion of its citizens and some of its industry. . . . Factories will be built in caves, as well as apartment houses and stores. Eventually, most human life will be underground, confronted by arsenals capable of destroying all life over the land areas of the earth." (*New York Herald Tribune,* October 17, reporting the publication by the Fund for the Republic of a study by Brown and Real entitled *Community of Fear.*) Needless to say, such a program would cost trillions of dollars and extend indefinitely into the future.

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To speak the truth always, even of *la patrie*. Every citizen is duty bound to die for his country; no one is bound to lie for it.

—*Montesquieu*

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American democracy is not being fulfilled until there is an ever wider freedom to criticize American foreign policy without arousing suspicions of treason.

—*Joseph P. Morray,* Pride of State



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# THE AFRICAN PERSONALITY

BY SHIRLEY GRAHAM

The crowning event of the 1960 Olympics was the record-shattering marathon run by an unknown African which brought the international sports contest to its close. Wrote Christopher Brasher in *The Observer* (London, September 11):

Twenty-five years after the Italians conquered Abyssinia, an Abyssinian has conquered Rome. Through the city's streets tonight an unknown Abyssinian tribesman ran the fastest marathon in history. Bikila Abebe won the Olympic crown over the 26-mile 385-yard route in a fabulous 2 hours, 15 min. 16.2 sec. The gaunt 28-year-old Ethiopian from Mout, who is a member of Emperor Haile Selassie's bodyguard, was in the leading group at six miles and was never thereafter headed . . . Only Rhadi (Moroccan soldier) could stay the pace set by the Ethiopian . . . As we waited for the two leaders to appear at the 32-kilometre mark darkness was closing in over the flat plain, and lights were peering from the hills; torches began to flare in the distance . . . Suddenly two dark figures appeared, the sweat gleaming on their legs and shoulders. Abebe was barefooted, and both he and Rhadi were shuffling along at a tremendous pace. Neither seemed distressed, and in the silence it was their feet rather than their breathing that one heard . . . After they were gone there was a long wait for Magee, the two Russians, . . .

In our London hotel I shared the reading of this stirring sports event with a Moroccan student who had come up from Oxford University for a visit with us. The young man was brimming with excitement. His black face shone with pride in no way diminished because his fellow countryman had come in second to the Ethiopian's first as he exclaimed, "Ah! Again the African Personality stands out for all the world to see!"

I nodded my head as my mind sped back several weeks. I saw again the youthful figure of Sékou Touré, in a red and

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*Shirley Graham is the author of the prize-winning books* There Was Once A Slave *and* Your Most Humble Servant. *She has been cited by the American Academy of Arts and Letters for her contributions to American literature.*



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white tunic, with a white hat perched at a provocative angle on his head, placing a golden chain hung with Guinea's highest honor, about the neck of the newly inaugurated President Kwame Nkrumah. And I recalled his words: "No past effort has been wasted, no sacrifice has been made in vain. No patriotic action has been accomplished, but what it stands inscribed as part of the triumph of all Africa."

It is thought that the African Personality was "launched" at the first All African Peoples Conference which met in Accra, December, 1958. Undoubtedly many Europeans and Americans first heard the phrase when, addressing the opening session of the Conference, Dr. Nkrumah, then Prime Minister of Ghana said: "The truly liberated African Personality will contribute to the advancement of mankind and the stabilizing of world peace. Projection of the African Personality into the international community will be a rallying point for all African states towards a really effective African unity; the corollary of which is greater African strength for the up-lift of African dignity."

Certain it is that in the months following that Conference nationalist leaders in West, East, North, and South Africa called on the many, diverse, and widely separated peoples of the continent to "lift the African Personality." And this call went out in a unified and united voice that crossed national boundaries, ignored tribal, religious, and language barriers, slipped through barriers thrown up by the various colonial powers and was taken up by old and young. Now that an enlarged number of these African leaders and their peoples have made their way to the United Nations this fall, the phrase "African Personality" has been carried over the world's airwaves as proceedings of United Nations sessions are broadcast.

Most people in the world acknowledge there is a New Man in Africa. Gone is the image of the "cannibalistic savage" and even of his successors the "slothful, shambling, half-wit," and the "grinning, childish buffoon." There are those who are prepared to recognize some African Personality in the passionate, "rabble-rouser" who goads his people into a frenzy of revolt, in the strong man who rises to power and seizes the Suez Canal, or who sends soldiers to the Congo and then places an iron band of total boycott around South Africa. Tom M'Boya's "Scram



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out of Africa!" addressed to all imperialists and colonizers was spoken in a soft voice and with an Oxford accent, but it did send the delegates away from the 1958 All African Peoples Conference with fixed determination for *positive action.* These are manifestations of the African Personality, but there is much more.

With the tumultuous events of the past months behind us, with ever mounting tensions, uncertainties, and inevitable change before us, it would be wise to consider what the African means when he speaks of his "Personality." I quote from a recent issue of *The Ghanian Times* (Accra, July 3rd):

> Behold the man of awakened Africa, Behold the Liberator! His words echo and re-echo in Africa and the man of bronze and ebony wakes up from his long slumber, he wakes up to destroy his chains and to follow his own path. "I will create my own heroes," the New Man of Africa exclaims. "I will follow my own light, I will find my own God and the African Personality is born."

Here is the challenge which the western world is not prepared to face. *At long last the white man must lay down his burden!*

In the morning of July 4th the first President of the new Republic of Ghana stood before the closed doors of the first assemblage of the Republic's Parliament. The President lifted a golden chalice and poured out fresh water from the river before the door, and, speaking in a language which was old when Homer wrote, he began his prayer with the words:

> Grand Spirits of Ghana's Ancestors,
> Drink!
> Harken, grand Sires,
> That God may know
> That Ghana is up
> To greet
> And thank him
> Great, Dependable God of our Ancestors.

His voice was carried by loud speakers to the thousands who stood in the morning sunshine. When the chant was ended drums carried the words to far and distant hills. At a signal from the Chiefs, trumpeters raised ram horns to their lips. And as



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they blew, the great doors swung open and members of Parliament rose to their feet. Gone were the dark robes and powdered wigs of Ghana's Assembly under the Queen of England. For the first time all members, all officials were clothed in beautiful kente cloth of their forefathers. Nowadays, in West Africa, the African wears his kente toga for all dress occasions. It is worn draped in the style *copied* by the senators of Rome. Cast-offs from moldy missionary barrels have been tossed aside along with bow ties and high silk hats.

One of the proposals put forward at the Conference of African Women and Women of African Descent which met in Accra last July, was that a cloth made from the bark of a tree in a Nigerian village be used for making children's clothes. "It is soft, durable, washes beautifully and children love to wear it," explained one woman. Others told how the making of this cloth was an old handicraft of this village, but that it had almost disappeared since people were clothing their children in "store-bought" clothes. "If we women organize we can encourage the women to make this cloth in large quantities. Machines can be set up; the village will prosper and our children will wear their clothes proudly."

Here is the key: a resurgence of pride! For hundreds of years the African's pride has been trampled on, has been spat upon. Slavers, gold and diamond hunters, traders, rated them lower than the most lowly animals. Christian missionaries robbed them of the last vestiges of self-respect. With their religions, customs, and traditions mocked and desecrated, fathers and mothers were humiliated and broken before the eyes of their children. The children themselves were shamed into hiding their little bodies from the health-giving sun. Now, the peoples of Africa are being reminded that the soil beneath their feet is their own! One senses this pride in the new architecture. Under colonialism all buildings were made to look as much like "back home" (Europe) as possible. The new buildings with their perforated walls, outdoor balconies, much glass, and spiral staircases seem completely indigenous to their surroundings. They are open to air and sun. I think of Ghana's National Museum which suggests the large circular compound, center of every African village, where the chief sat in council with his people.



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The roof of the compound would have been thatched, while through the glass center of the museum, light floods the interior where encircling balconies are reached by delicate iron staircases and extensions seem to merge with the green of foliage and flowering shrubs outside. The College of Technology in Kumasi is laid out with a simplicity, understanding, and beauty which satisfies the most esthetic taste, yet does not create a "foreign" atmosphere for the student as do the educational institutions built under colonial regimes.

In Ghana education is being overhauled and organized by the government. The Presidential address at the opening of Parliament underscored agriculture in the nation's new lease of life and set the stage for the economic emancipation in the era of the new Republic. Says Sebastian Kwamar, Rural Science Teacher of Anfoega:

> There is little point in basing the agricultural education in our schools and colleges on an imaginary universal or even British standard. The whole question of standards is relative. It is not a static concept as many highly educated people think.

Traditionally, women have played an important part in the organic life of African communities. Especially in West Africa the tribal systems were matriarchal in structure—thrones and property were inherited through the mother—women worked and fought beside the men. So, today, as the new independent African states emerge, women are playing a vital role in achieving full independence and women are sharing in and contributing to every phase of the new states. In Ghana, the Women's Builders Brigades have worked at opening up roads which now criss-cross the country, in constructing bridges, waterworks, schools, and the handsome public buildings which transform Accra from a smug, ramshackled outpost of British imperialism into an impressive city. One of the District Regional Commissioners (corresponding to state Governor) is a woman; women magistrates preside over courts; a woman jurist is on the commission which is drawing up the Republic's new code of laws; ten women sit in Parliament and the Market Women's Association wields a powerful political as well as business influence. Says Judge Annie Jaigge, "Women and men are equally re-



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sponsible for what happens in the home, in the community, and the state. The progress and prosperity for which we cry can only come when women shoulder their share of civic responsibilities as co-workers with our men for the good of the community and for the state to which we belong." This, too, is the African Personality.

The Convention People's Party, which brought the Republic of Ghana into being, is a socialist party. Speaking at the opening of the Hall of Trade Unions which took place July 10th, the President, who is also head of CPP, said, "The Convention People's Party, under whose protective wing is organized the Trade Union Congress, the United Ghana Farmers' Council, and the National Co-operative Council, is committed to fight for a social order in which man is freed from economic exploitation. . . . Only when a just society, worthy of man is built will our social order be so organized that men are freed from economic dangers and want, their lives guaranteed and the enjoyment of a full life opened up to them." While the party's announced goal is complete socialism, the word "communalism" is used while the word "communism" is avoided because the latter "has foreign connotations." The socialism which is spreading and taking hold in Africa is explained as having its base in the old communal society of African tribal life. The concept of private ownership of land and the wealth of land is a concept brought into Africa by European invaders. Capitalism, therefore, is being shown up as something alien, foreign, and imperialistic. "The land belongs to the people" is a slogan easily understood anywhere in Africa. And the return of that land and its resources to the people is a basic goal of the developed and liberated African Personality.

"The people of Ghana have enacted for themselves a new Constitution because of our conviction that we need a form of government which will more truly interpret the aspirations and hopes of the people of Ghana and give full expression to the African Personality." These words were spoken June 30th when the last National Assembly in Ghana under the Queen of England was being dissolved. The President-Elect addressed himself to Lord Listowel, last Governor-General of Ghana.

This constitution of the Republic of Ghana is a remarkable



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document in that it combines old African forms of government with concepts put forth by the most enlightened governments of our modern world. Ghana's head of state is an elected President. He must also be leader of the majority party in the country. He is, therefore, in fact Prime Minister. Since the life of Parliament is five years he cannot be forced to resign. Once every five years there must be a general election in which all citizens over twenty-one, vote. Whenever this happens there will be a presidential election. The constitution specifies that "Chieftaincy in Ghana shall be guaranteed and preserved." It provides for a House of Chiefs as well as a Peoples Council in every region of the country. The chiefs no longer have judicial power —they cannot judge, fine, punish, or call to war, but their *dignity* is maintained, they are the *custodians* of the land and they exercise important traditional advisory powers.

A major principle of the constitution relates to the concept of African unity. Parliament is entrusted with the right, at any time that a union of African states becomes possible, to surrender the sovereignty of Ghana in whole or in part so that Ghana can merge with such a union.

A united Africa or Pan-Africanism is a new concept for this very old continent, it is a concept which for a long time was not grasped by its peoples. Subjection of conquered peoples rather than union was the thought of the ruling kingdoms of the Nile valley, of a succession of great empires in central and western Africa. Attempts at "rediscovering" ancient Africa are bringing to light many lost cities and nations. There were Federations but before these could be much enlarged Africa was invaded and for nearly four hundred years exploiters and colonizers have divided and subdivided Africa for their own purposes, destroyed native communities, created boundaries and set up what were actually European states. Existence of the peoples of Africa depended upon their usefulness to the whites. The very term "African" was never used by natives. It had been taken over by the Dutch invaders of South Africa! There were "Ethiopians," "Nigerians," "Algerians," "Egyptians"; there were "Hottentots," "Senegalese" and "Sudanese," and so on.

The story of the development of Pan-Africanism is a long one and cannot be told here. Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, the Ameri-



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can Negro historian is named in Africa "The Father of Pan-Africanism" because of his continued advocacy of a united Africa since the latter part of the 19th century. Today, all accepted leaders in Africa call for a united Africa. This was the theme of Emperor Haile Selassie's recent address to the Economic Commission which met in Addis Ababa; it is constantly sounded in the speeches of Tom M'Boya of Kenya; it is heard in Cairo and Algeria and Nigeria. Speaking at the Inaugural Luncheon in Ghana a few weeks ago, President Sékou Touré of Guinea said:

> The United States of Africa which a few years ago was only a vague fancy, an aim that then appeared over-ambitious or hardly credible, is now a possibility that seems capable of fulfilment. It is already inscribed in the hearts and minds of our people. It is chronicled in song in our villages and schools. Our peasants, workers, the housewives, old men and, above all, the younger generation, dwell upon the idea with unrelenting zest.

The prayer accompanying the libations which the President of Ghana poured out on the threshold of the new Parliament ended with the words:

> Great Spirits of our Ancestors,
> Drink!
> Give life to the sons of Ghana,
> Give life to the Ghana-Guinea union,
> Give life to the union of Africa!

The people of Ghana have given their head of state a title which was old in West Africa when Columbus sailed to America. The word "Osagyefo" means much more than "Your Excellency." It is not a term of obeisance. It is a proud word which may be translated "God-Sent" or "Liberator."

The New Man of Africa is proud without being boastful, confident without being arrogant, determined without being foolhardy. Nothing which has happened in the Congo will change his march towards freedom and complete independence. The tragedy of the Congo is the tragedy of the White Man and not the tragedy of the Black Man. This fact will become increasingly clear as the United Nations are in session this fall and the African Personality takes its place at the International Table.



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# THE PLUNDERED CONTINENT

## BY PAUL JOHNSON

The following is an abridgment of an article which appeared in the London *New Statesman* of September 17, 1960. Mr. Johnson is one of the editors of the *New Statesman*. His vivid description of conditions in the main South American countries should be enough to convince even the most hard-boiled imperialist that United States policy, aimed as it is at maintaining the status quo in Latin America, is failing and is bound to fail. By the same token, Mr. Johnson's article helps to explain the tremendous impact of the Cuban Revolution throughout Latin America. To avoid misunderstanding, it should be added that we are not convinced, as Mr. Johnson appears to be, that Brazil can successfully develop on a capitalist basis in the second half of the 20th century as the United States did in the second half of the 19th century. There are, it seems to us, decisive differences, both internal and international, between the two cases. Apart from this one point, however, we are in general agreement with Mr. Johnson's analysis.—The Editors

Latin America might have been the kingdoms of the world the Devil showed Christ on the mountain. It has more cultivable, high yield tropical soil than any other continent, at least three times as much agricultural land, per capita, as Asia, the biggest reserves of timber in the world. Buried in it are uncalculated but vast reserves of oil, iron, copper, tin, gold, silver, zinc, lead: the list is endless—it embraces virtually every metal, base and rare, and every industrial chemical known to man. With its oil and hydroelectric power it constitutes one of the greatest untapped reservoirs of energy; its annual population increase, hovering between two and three percent, provides an inexhaustible source of future manpower.

Yet Latin America contains some of the poorest and most exploited people on the planet. Its impact on world politics, over nearly 500 years, has been negligible. It has remained a rich and plundered flotsam, drifting on the rival tides of European and North American avarice.

Will it always be like this? Will Latin America remain the plundered continent? Or is the time coming when its peoples will step onto the world stage in their own right, and play the massive part to which their economic wealth entitles them? These



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were the questions I set myself and tried to answer during a 30,000-mile voyage through this area.

My trip began, logically, in Brazil: for the first half of the answer depends upon the speed at which Brazil's experiment in capitalist economics comes to maturity. It ended, again logically, in Cuba: for the success of the present political experiment there is the necessary compliment to the Brazilian upsurge. In examining these two questions, we shall find ourselves touching upon virtually all the problems of the continent.

Superficially, Brazil is just another Latin American state. Its per capita income is among the lowest on the continent. Between 60 and 75 percent—no-one seems to know—of Brazilians are illiterate; even in Rio State, the proportion is over half. Only 5 percent of the cultivable land is under crops. It has a tiny, ramshackle railway network with less mileage than Belgium, but five different gauges and 29 different systems; most of the engines burn wood, which has to be transported long distances by lorries consuming imported petrol. To a great extent, it still has a one-crop economy, with all the attendant evils. Half the population scarcely handles money and cannot afford to buy manufactured goods. In the northeast, when the drought comes, the inhabitants—they are called *flagelados,* those who are whipped—live off cactus. There's no color prejudice, true; it's just that the Negroes, still less the Indians, don't seem to get very far. The army and navy are well looked after. Government, as in 18th-century England, is a branch of private enterprise. The police mind their own business, unless attacked. About half the country is unexplored, three-quarters unvisited by respectable citizens. Since the collapse of the rubber boom, there's no point in going near the Amazon; no way of getting there, either, unless you want to chug up it in verminous boats, or risk a flight across 1,000 miles of jungle. This, at any rate, is the picture you get in Rio, where hope is a stunted plant, wedged between the most villainous slums in the world and the flagrant evidence of unprincipled wealth.

In Sao Paulo, it's a different story. Unlike Rio, the city has escaped from the debilitating frustrations of the coast, which turns longing eyes back towards Europe. It is in the center of the *terra roxa,* the rich red earth which grows the world's best cof-



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fee. Unlike all other Latin American cities, it is not an artificial creation, an ant-hill refuge for men beaten by the land. It has sprung up as a natural process of economic growth: efficient farming led to the creation of agricultural surpluses; these in turn produced capital; capital was invested in industry, selling its products to rich farmers and salaried laborers. Suddenly, in the last quarter of the 19th century, the process began to reach maturity, and Sao Paulo exploded. From a population of 25,000 in 1875, it has expanded to nearly four million, and is growing at the rate of 150,000 a year. It spreads over 700 square miles, virtually without slums. The centre is a vast canyon of roads, lipped by the biggest skyscrapers in the southern hemisphere; around, stretch pleasant residential suburbs, occupied—and in Latin America this is a miracle—by ordinary bank clerks and industrial workers. For, if Sao Paulo boasts of its 100 millionaires, it also has something which is economically far more significant: a million and a half regular wage-earners—the vital atoms of a modern consumer economy.

For this is the real importance of Sao Paulo. Within the city and in the rich agricultural and industrial hinterland are some 12 to 15 million people who have decisively crossed the subsistence threshold. In the past in Brazil, and elsewhere in Latin America even today, economic growth is paralysed by a total dependence on overseas markets. Manufactured imports could only be paid for by exporting raw materials—food and minerals. The people were tied to the land, leading a subsistence economy; and any investment in the land meant overproduction, price collapses, and unemployment. Local industry died of inanition: nobody could afford to buy the goods. There seemed no way out of this vicious circle.

Now Sao Paulo has broken it, for good. The slow process of natural agricultural growth has created a reservoir of consumers. These have been joined by what economists call "high-grade" immigrants—1,250,000 Italians, 1,000,000 Portuguese, 400,000 Spaniards, 250,000 Japanese, 100,000 Lebanese and Syrians—bringing with them capital, energy, and industrial skills which cannot be purchased south of the Rio Grande. As a result, the area has an annual consumer purchasing power of over $15,000 million—the basis for self-sustaining growth.



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The problem now has entered a new phase. How, operating from its solidly established base in Sao Paulo, can this new wealth "colonize" the rest of Brazil? Until a few years ago, the problem seemed insoluble: distance, sheer physical difficulties, and the prevailing inertia elsewhere were tending to turn Sao Paulo in upon itself. Now, by forcing through the construction of Brasilia, President Kubitschek has broken Rio's palsied grip upon government and built a psychological as well as a physical bridge across which Sao Paulo's wealth can flow to the interior and the north. Now the emphasis is no longer on direction, but solely on speed.

In Brazil's present stage of evolution, such terms as socialism are meaningless. The country resembles the United States during the great westward surge of the mid-19th century. I found a complete absence of interest in the outside world, an avid self-absorption in the immediate business of making money. This national climate may be disagreeable; but it is healthy and necessary. Unlike the rest of Latin America, there is little self-pity in Brazil. Violence, yes; poverty, the vicious cruelty of glaring economic inequality. But no doubts about the future. Before the end of the century, Brazil will have a population of 200 million. It will be the biggest industrial power south of the equator, playing a giant's role in the world. The type of economic and political regime it will then possess can and must be left to the next generation to decide.

In Brazil, hope; in the rest of the continent resignation, even despair. This sweeping generalization is a useful rule of thumb south of Panama.

Vast, sprawling Buenos Aires (it numbers 5 million, with a further 2 million in the outer suburbs), once so elegant, with its cherished echoes of Paris, now has a down-at-heel, second-hand air. The street lights splutter on and off at night, there are great, unfilled cavities in the pavements, peeling plaster on the public buildings.

The postwar history of Argentina is an unmitigated tragedy. It also epitomizes all the main problems which face Latin American countries, apart from Brazil. After Venezuela, whose wealth springs almost entirely from oil, it has the highest per capita income in the area and by far the highest literacy rate.



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The British provided it with the biggest railway network south of the equator and the elements of an industrial base. What went wrong? Briefly, Argentina's troubles spring from Peron's clumsy but well-meaning attempts to make it economically and industrially independent. This desire for release from the foreigner is present throughout Latin America. For a time, in the rosy postwar era of high commodity prices, it seemed as though Argentina might realize it.

Basing his power on organized labor, Peron's dream was to convert Argentina from an agricultural into an industrial country—the powerhouse of the continent. Excessive world demand for beef and grain gave him a vast exchange surplus during the forties. He used this to buy out foreign investments—to the tune of nearly $400 million—and to force through a state program of rapid industrialization. He also used export exchange rates to penalize agriculture. Inevitably, food production fell dramatically, exports dwindled, the rural workers poured into the cities in search of high, artificially-fixed wages, imports rose—not only for industry but for the swollen rural populations—and the economy swung into a vicious inflationary spin. This crackpot experiment was doomed in any case; but the collapse of world commodity prices in the 1950's turned it into disaster. Argentina's food exports were falling in quantity at precisely the time when their value was collapsing. The economy came to a virtual stop: by 1955, the gross national product was over seven percent lower than in 1948. After a few half-hearted efforts to reverse the process, the Peron regime collapsed in a maelstrom of bloodshed and police tyranny.

Peron left a fearful legacy. It is axiomatic in Latin America that once you have dragged a peasant off the land into the city, you can never get him back again, no matter how poor he is. It is also axiomatic that no Latin American government can be induced to take a serious interest in agriculture. Hence production of Argentina's real wealth—cattle and grain—remains static. Three quarters of the population live in the towns eating their heads off (in one year, the country even had to import wheat). Because Peronist memories still linger among the urban workers, the government dare not allow wages to find their market level: so industry remains hopelessly uncompetitive and



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stagnant. Nearly everyone is underemployed. The sprawling, state-owned railways (run at a gigantic loss) have, I was told, 75 percent surplus personnel. Nearly 14 percent of the work force is employed by government; and, short of a revolution, nobody can be fired from a government office.

What, in these circumstances, can any government do? President Frondizi and his Intransigent Radicals were elected on a violently left-wing platform with Peronist support. He pledged himself to carry out what Peron had manifestly failed to do; once in office, he found this was impossible. Inflation was proceeding at a steady trot of 50 percent a year; external payments were in permanent unbalance; it was out of the question to salvage the wreck of the industrialization program without a massive injection of foreign capital—and where was that to come from? Short of imposing a Communist dictatorship, and beating the country into raising itself by its bootstraps, Frondizi had only one choice: to sell the country, lock, stock and barrel, to the United States.

This, in effect, is what he has done, but in a subtle, mid-20th century way. The U.S. bankers of the International Monetary Fund have made available initial credits of $329 million, on condition that the government follows an economic policy of which they approve. This means, in practice, savage deflation, euphemized under the title of the Stabilization Program. A dramatic fall in consumption, unemployment, wage cuts, strikes, police action have followed in inevitable progression. The country is unhappy and uncertain. Moreover, to date, Frondizi's policy seems to be failing on all counts. He has not dared to take the political risks of dismantling sufficient of the protective and paternalist legal machinery of Peronism to make his new policy work; but at the same time he has made himself just sufficiently unpopular to become absolutely dependent on the army. This is now the real ruler of the country. Just before I arrived there, parliament was forced, virtually at pistol point, to hand over the state of Cordoba to military rule. The army now controls the Ministry of the Interior, and has reimposed the death penalty for terrorism—i.e., attacks on officers. Parts of the country are now in a state of incipient anarchy. Armed bands roam the pampas. Time bombs explode in railway stations. Trade un-



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ionists and journalists are savagely beaten in secret police stations. Under the nominal aegis of a left-wing democratically elected government, Argentina today bears all the hallmarks of Franco Spain: industrial stagnation, rising unemployment, inflation, and police terror.

Unfortunately, the recent history of Argentina finds echoes all over the continent. With varying degrees of violence, the same pattern can be traced, in Chile, in Peru, in Venezuela, for example. The origins of this continental *malaise* can be traced back to the Spanish *conquistadors*. It is impossible to be too critical of this mindless bunch of ruffians. Their principal aim, as they hacked their way up and down the Pacific Coast, was to get their hands on gold or other precious metals. Failing this, they looked for large concentrations of Indians, who could be turned into slave laborers on cash-crop farms. In an astonishingly short period, they wrecked not only one of the most complex agricultural civilizations in history, but the very earth itself. The Inca empire in Peru had supported 30 million people in material abundance; its wealth was based on scientific strip contour farming, kept efficient by an elaborate bureaucracy. Despite the absence of either the wheel or the horse, communications were better (taking the country as a whole) than in present-day Peru: the great ravines were spanned by superb bridges of wood and rope, kept in excellent repair.

This inheritance the Spaniards threw away in the blind pursuit of easy wealth. Some of the Indians were dragged down from the Andean plateau to die on the tropical farms of the coast; others were dragged up from the coast to die in the mines. The bridges were used until they collapsed: the story of the bridge of San Luis Rey is symbolic of the whole colonial period. With the death of the Indians, the rich terraces were abandoned. I travelled hundreds of miles through the great Peruvian valleys. Everywhere, in the midst of the raw, desolate landscape, were the faint scratchings which marked what had once been a wonder of husbandry. Instead, the Spaniards pillaged the plains: agricultural plunder at its crudest. A forest was burnt down, crops sown; after a few years, when the soil began to fail, the Spaniards moved on and burnt another forest. Stripped of its forest cover, the soil was washed into the sea by



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the torrential Andean rains, or scattered into desert by the high winds. In the sea, the soil turned into sludge and poisoned the inshore fisheries. In Colombia, Ecuador, Chile—all down the Pacific coast—it is the same story of senseless plunder, the same rapid conversion of priceless, irreplaceable natural wealth into desert.

The only restrictions on the appetites of the Spanish *colons,* the only forces which could prevent them from wiping out the Indians entirely and finally destroying the continent's resources, were the Spanish crown and the church. The crown, in its fumbling way, tried to operate conservation policies and even imposed laws against killing Indians wholesale. The church was more positive. Some of the missionaries, notably the Jesuits, set up inland colonies, farming the land on scientific principles, resurrecting native handicrafts, trying to recreate in a beaten race the sense of human dignity. As such, they became mortal enemies of the *colons,* and in the last decades of the 18th century they were hounded out. Their colonies, in Paraguay and northern Argentina, can still be seen: crumbling, overgrown churches, in superb rococco, the patterns of once-rich fields. In turn, the feeble efforts of the crown to impose reason proved too irksome. Around 1820, the territories, one by one, rejected the authority of Spain and set up aristocratic republics.

The revolutions were essentially *colon* uprisings against the restrictive humanitarianism of the central power. As such, they find a modern echo in Algeria. But in 1820, General Massu —in the person of Bolivar, San Martin and the rest—flew the White Ensign. For it was the British Navy, holding the ring while the insurgents smashed the Spanish garrisons, which made the republican triumph possible. More than this, British capital, avid to break the Spanish monopoly and thrust its way into the rich investment territories of the continent, played an active role in financing revolt. The British government provided diplomatic backing. Canning was the Krushchev of the 1820's. It was a legion of Peninsula veterans, recruited from the London slums, which enabled Bolivar to free Venezuela and plunge across the Andes into Colombia. British gold financed San Martin. Admiral Cochrane transported his forces up the Pacific coast. Once Spanish rule had collapsed, the officers



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and *colons* turned on the Indians. In Argentina, San Martin's lieutenants massacred them to a man, and carved up the pampas into giant estates. In turn, the British moved into the ports and set up the great commercial and mining dynasties. The second age of plunder had begun. In the south and along the Pacific it was the British preserve; the Caribbean, the Isthmus, and Mexico was the American commercial empire, built by private armies and bribes, pocket presidents, gunboats, and marines.

Hence by the early years of the 20th century, Latin America had acquired its present characteristics. In virtually every country, a one-commodity economy (coffee, bananas, sugar, tin, or copper), tragically vulnerable to fluctuations in world prices. A socially and technically retrograde land system. Rule by small oligarchies, with over-large armed forces playing the role of arbiter and acting as a check on the normal functioning of the democratic system. Constant intervention by the great commercial powers.

How to escape from this complementary dominance of overseas commercial interests and internal feudal oligarchies has always been, and remains, the central problem for Latin American nationalists. The parallel with the Arab world is close: for there also an alien power (Turkey) had been usurped by western commerce, acting in conjunction with local, reactionary aristocrats. In Latin America, it has not proved particularly difficult, in recent times, for left-wing nationalists to win office through free elections; their problem has been how to win real power. In the smaller territories, such as Guatemala, legal governments can easily be overthrown by external intervention, sponsored by threatened commercial interests. Even in larger countries, such as Mexico and Bolivia, defiance of the foreigner can prove too costly. The Mexican oil industry is still being "punished" for nationalization: the international oil companies responded by building up the Venezuelan oil industry, just as in the Middle East they built up Kuwait to "punish" Persia. In Bolivia, the nationalized tin industry is starved of the capital required to make it competitive.

We have seen what happens when even a comparatively rich and technically advanced country like Argentina attempts to make itself master of its own economic destiny. It simply ends



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by falling victim to the new type of colonizer—the cold-eyed bankers in Washington. Today, the process can be observed at work in a number of other Latin American regions. The jack-booted foreign overseer has been succeeded by the Export-Import Bank economist in the grey flannel suit. To be sure, his intentions are far more honorable than his predecessor's. What the United States wants from Latin America is simply to be able to extract or buy its raw materials—at what now begins to approach a fair price—in an atmosphere of stable politics and orthodox economics. It is able to get the type of government which can provide these by offering—or withholding—large-scale loans, without which Latin America cannot industrialize at all. Washington hopes—genuinely, no doubt—that this atmosphere will, by some process of capitalist alchemy, produce "healthy," regular, and eventually self-sustaining economic growth, in a framework of monetary stability. Unfortunately, neither growth nor stability has been, or is likely to be, achieved. For political stability itself prevents the drastic changes in the social and economic system which alone can provide the basis for dynamic growth.

Chile is an example of this vicious circle in motion. In her postwar efforts to get her industrial system off the ground, Chile fell into a quagmire of inflation, inevitably accompanied by a foreign-exchange crisis. The whole country is now in pawn to the U.S.-dominated financial agencies—IMF, World Bank, Export-Import Bank, etc.—who supply medium-sized loans in return for the right to dictate financial policy to President Alessandri's highly conservative government. The massive deflationary dose on which they insisted has merely depressed the Chilean economy further. Industrial production fell 12 percent between 1956 and 1958 and still seems to be falling; even "official" unemployment is about 9 percent. Chile has all the characteristics of a backward country. Income tax is a mere 3 and one-half percent (even so, there is at least 25 percent evasion). Official interest rates are about 16 percent, with free rates running up to 140 percent! Over 25 percent of the revenue goes on the armed forces and police. Average real wages have declined sharply since 1948, while real national income per capita fell by 10 percent. Some 25 percent of the population—



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whose real wealth comes almost entirely from land and minerals —form a grossly inflated white-collar class, whose real wages are rising rapidly at the expense of the productive workers. These retrograde tendencies have all become more acute since the U.S. bankers took over; at the same time, they have not even succeeded in their basic objective—monetary stability. Inflation jogs along at an average annual 20 percent clip, and my grubby Chilean currency was looked at with suspicion even in Lima.

What, of course, is wrong with Chile is the legacy of the *conquistadors,* the besetting and perennial sin of Latin America: neglect of the land. Sao Paulo and Brazil have shown—as did Britain in the 18th century—that self-sustaining economic growth can be constructed on a basis of efficient agriculture. In Chile, government and landowners alike treat the land with contempt. Agricultural population has fallen by a third since 1939. Agricultural output is growing by only 1.6 percent annually, while population increases by nearly 2 percent and per capita food consumption by 2.3 percent. As a result, Chile, potentially one of the world's richest agricultural areas, with more than a hectare of cultivable land per capita, has become a net importer of food, the cost of which now constitutes a quarter of her import bill.

Why this astonishing anomaly? Because the Chilean social structure virtually prohibits efficient agriculture. Some 86 percent of the agricultural area is divided into large *fundos,* whose owners find it more profitable to speculate in land than to farm it, still less to invest in it. Alongside them are the even more backward *minifundia,* whose wretched tenants cannot produce enough to feed themselves, let alone purchase a modest entry into the modern consumer civilization. Between these two groups, every refinement of bad farming is practised—vertical ploughing of sloping land, the fallow system, burning of forests and bush. Only a few miles from Santiago I examined estates whose composition and techniques have scarcely changed since the 17th century—giant colonial houses, with clusters of mud *peon* huts grouped carefully out of smelling distance at the gateway, vast tracts of rich, weed-covered land, an aroma of arrogant decay. The government naturally refuses to dispossess the landowners whom it represents; in any case, abrupt change would offend the iron laws of the Washington bankers. When



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the recent earthquake, which devastated the south, offered a unique chance for peaceful structural reform—to be financed with the aid which flowed to Chile from all over the world—the government allowed the relief administration to drift into the hands of local dignitaries, mainly big landowners, who have thus been able to buttress their economic position. The peasants got bowls of soup and the odd blanket. A Chilean economist said to me: "Our earthquakes are nature's revenge on us for the way we treat its riches." Meanwhile, back in Washington, the bankers wonder why things don't seem to get any better, and resignedly blame it all on the Latin American temperament.

Despite their immense differences, Peru is imprisoned in the same vicious circle as Chile. Here again, the U.S. banker is the real arbiter (the government even went so far as to engage a U.S. business-efficiency firm to tell it how to run the country), bestowing periodic loans—such as $200 million for the vast Toquelala copper project—in return for financial and political orthodoxy. Peru has been in the clutches of the bankers longer than most; as a result, it has more convenient laws for foreign companies and imports than almost anywhere else. In Lima, at the delightful Bolivar Hotel (where colonial service and comfort survive), I got Cooper's Oxford Marmalade for breakfast, and could stroll around the amply stocked store of Sears-Roebuck (Peru) Inc. Nearby, workmen were erecting a 90-foot Cinerama screen, believed to be the biggest in the world. Across the river was the other side of the story: the diseased warrens of slums; and, once outside the tiny coastal plain, the desolate misery of a man-made lunar landscape.

Peru has some of the richest and most diverse mineral deposits in the world. But three quarters of its inhabitants are virtually outside the money economy, most of them subsisting on the borderline of starvation. There are very few roads. The most important railway, from Lima to Huancayo, is a mere 260 miles, and has two trains a day each way. The richest part of the country—east of the Andes—is almost uninhabited; to get from its centre, Iquitos, to Lima, goods must be transported via the Amazon and the Panama Canal. The Indians on the high Andean plateau, the old heart of the Inca emprire, cohabit with their white and *mestizo* masters in silent, passive hostility,



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eating a low-calory diet of corn and potatoes and, on every possible occasion, getting drunk on a mixture of *chicha* (fermented corn), raw spirit, and urine. Here, as elsewhere in the Andes, the mood is introspective, sullen with despair: the Andean cities have the highest (though statistically unrecorded) suicide rates in the world. Where progress has penetrated—in the shape of mining—it has brought with it only concrete hutments for the workers and a ubiquitous veneer of evil gray slime, which smells like death. The Andean mining towns are the most horrific examples of human degradation I have ever seen.

Yet Peru is, nominally, a democracy; in the Apra, it has one of the oldest and most powerful left-wing political movements in the continent. In Lima, Apra headquarters—which nightly supply free dentistry and medical treatment, free drugs, subsidized meals, and classes from basic arithmetic to painting in oils—are a thriving center of purposeful socialist activity. But between the Apra and real power a great gulf is fixed. One of its leaders told me frankly: "If we were elected to power, democratically, and attempted to carry through structural reforms, the army would instantly suspend the constitution and reimpose dictatorship. Instead, at this stage, we must be content to ensure that the democratic forms are observed and work through the conservatives."

Here we touch on one of the basic problems of Latin America. Democracy is largely a facade: even where its ceremonies are tolerated, the army is the ultimate arbiter. In Peru, the Left dare not assume power, for fear that it would lose even its formal privileges. Elsewhere, where the Left has won elections, the fruits of office have turned into bitter ashes. We have already seen, in Argentina, a so-called extreme left government operating a police tyranny to pursue a policy of deflation dictated by foreign bankers. Much the same could be said of Venezuela, where the triumphant electoral victory of President Betancourt's left-wing Accion Democratica has been followed by social stagnation and heartbreaking disillusion.

Indeed, in all the centuries of economic madness which have been Latin America's bitter lot, the story of postwar Venezuela is outstanding for sheer, stark lunacy. Since the war, this country has become the world's largest exporter and second



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largest producer of oil, and it has managed to secure a bigger cut of the royalties than any other country except the U.S. itself. Under the crackpot Jimenez régime—which received Washington's benevolent accolade for economic "realism"—something like £1,000 million were thrown to the winds on a spending spree which makes the Sheik of Kuwait look like a mere treble-chance winner. A vast hydro-electric power station was built, before anyone ascertained whether there would be any demand for it (there wasn't). A steel works was purchased—without any coke ovens, and without providing a coke supply. Near Caracas, jungle mountains were levelled for building lots for Jimenez and his cronies: their palatial villas now stand, incomplete and desolate, like Ozymandias' trunk.

Jimenez's most characteristic folly was the Humboldt Hotel, built on the top of a 7,000-foot mountain overlooking Caracas. This is undoubtedly the most magnificent hotel I have ever been privileged to enter. Unfortunately it can only be reached by a terrifying cable railway, and for a lot of the time its superb views over the city and the Caribbean are obscured in impenetrable, icy cloud. Its sheer, 14 storeys make it look like a desolate lighthouse in thick fog, and only the odd visitor with a morbid obsession for heights and mist cares to stay there. Naturally, it is run (by the state) at an enormous loss.

Betancourt, as the first constitutionally elected president of modern times, inherited the consequences of this profligacy: the highest-cost economy in the world, which is driving Venezuelan oil out of world markets; seven different police forces; a huge, overpaid bureaucracy; inflated armed forces equipped with expensive gadgets like supersonic fighters (he has recently had to placate them by ordering, of all things, a nuclear submarine); and a great sheaf of unpaid bills. Naturally, he stopped work on some of Jimenez's more ludicrous projects, thus immediately swelling Caracas' ugly mob of unemployed, and putting his government in pawn to the army. The collapse of world oil prices has meanwhile knocked the bottom out of the Venezuelan oil boom; new exploration is not merely failing to keep pace with current production, but the two largest oil companies are, for the first time since oil was discovered there, shipping exploration equipment from Venezuela to other theaters. In-



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evitably, Betancourt, too, was forced to turn to the U.S. for loans, with all that this entails in social and economic stagnation. Basic land reform has been shelved, a credit squeeze imposed, and unemployment is swelling. The growing anger of the mob can be balanced only by more concessions to the army. The Left is split into warring factions. When I arrived in Caracas, tanks were in the streets, violence in the muggy air. It cost me 10 shillings to buy a glass of milk and from my hotel bedroom (well above Savoy prices, but crawling with cockroaches nevertheless) I could see human bundles of rags littering the streets. And Caracas is the El Dorado of the richest country in Latin America.

And so to Cuba. The outlines of Castro's remarkable revolution I have already described in an earlier article. Here, all I need do is to recall its salient characteristics. First, Castro came to power, like Mao Tse-tung, through a peasant revolution which completely obliterated the traditional military establishment in the process. Secondly, he governs through a genuine dictatorship of the proletariat: his rule is arbitrary, its sole—but vital—mandate being the overwhelming support of the majority. Thirdly, he has destroyed the basis of capitalist (chiefly foreign) economic power by seizing, without compensation, all its major units, including the landed estates. Fourthly, he has buttressed his ability to withstand economic pressure by agreements with the Communist bloc.

This combination of factors makes the Cuban experiment unique in Latin American history. Will the other Latin American republics be obliged to imitate it? It looks increasingly likely. In my view, barring some fundamental change in United States policy, social democracy—the acquisition of power by constitutionally elected parties of the Left—cannot provide an early and effective solution to the really critical problems of the area. In certain states—Costa Rica and Uruguay are two obvious examples—gradualist methods have been applied with real, if limited, success. But both these countries happily possess highly literate and homogeneous populations, almost exclusively of European origin; their economic problems are open to clear-cut solutions whch can be intelligibly explained to educated electorates. As such, they are exceptional.



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For most of Latin America, the choice is more stark. No attempt to solve its basic economic problems can be made without fundamental changes in the social structure. At present, these cannot be brought about through mere electoral victories, since effective legislation requires the assent of the armed forces. Until these vested interests are destroyed—as they were in Cuba—the democratic process remains a farce. Latin America, therefore, does not really possess the alternative of reformism; its only way to progress is through a genuine revolution, involving the dispossession by confiscation of the propertied classes and their ally, foreign capital. Such a revolution may come about under the influence of *Fidelismo*; but if it is sufficiently delayed, the entire initiative of change may be thrown into the welcoming hands of the Communists—under the direction not even of accommodating Russia, but of intransigent China.

MR

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# WOMEN OF THE NEW CUBA

## BY NANCY REEVES

A revolution is a trial by fire. In this test the women of Cuba were magnificent, both in the period of clandestine opposition to the Batista tyranny and later in the guerrilla warfare resulting in his downfall. Women distributed literature, nursed the wounded, helped fugitives reach embassy asylum, and smuggled arms. Many were captured, subjected to barbaric tortures, and killed because they refused to inform. Fidel Castro, impressed with their fortitude, proposed the formation of a Women's Brigade. Some of his confreres objected with traditional arguments. Fidel persisted, however, and the "Mariana Grajales" (named after General Maceo's mother who gave all her sons to the country in the Independence War of 1895) was born. The Brigade achieved a reputation for great courage. It was said that men were sometimes seen to run from the enemy, but these women never. They became the terror of Batista's forces. Women who continued to lead civilian lives in the cities also played a vital and dangerous role. They maintained communications between the fighters and the population, and were responsible for arms transport, often carrying weapons in double skirts or in the door panels of their cars. This was particularly important toward the end when men, imprisoned or watched, could not function.

Such experiences of participation and responsibility have not been forgotten either by men or women in the new Cuba. The triumph of the Revolution is still too recent for time to cloud the memory; the present situation is too tense to permit a reversion to patterns of the past. At this moment, for example, while the regular army is being reduced, a great drive is under way to promote a paramilitary organization, the People's Militia, and the women are part of this effort.*

* I digress at this point to analyze the thinking of Cubans on the militia

*Nancy Reeves, a member of the New York and California Bars, has recently returned from Cuba where she made a special study of the role of women.*



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This is not to intimate, of course, that the millennium has come for Cuban women since January 1959, or that Latin American tradition was overthrown with Batista. There are lags. Nor has there been a frontal attack on the patterns of the past, as there has been in other revolutions. Instead, as elsewhere in the Cuban experience, new patterns for women are developing pragmatically from dynamic changes in the social matrix. Women, along with other citizens, have new public duties and, without too much theory or discussion, adjustments follow.

To understand the nature of the new, it is necessary to have some notion of the status of Cuban women before 1959-1960, both in the countryside and in the cities. Rural life was very primitive. Most women were tied to the endless tasks of life in a *bohio,* where water had to be fetched, cooking was done with wood chips, light was by kerosene, clothing was scrubbed in the stream, and even a backyard privy was non-existent in more than half of the dwellings. In addition, the country woman was usually illiterate, burdened with the care of many children, and helpless to cope with the overwhelming realities of poverty and disease.

In urban areas many women had jobs outside the home (in factories or in other people's homes) which, while far from ideal, gave them a measure of independence. In addition, there was a certain portion of the population with university training who practiced professions, worked for social betterment, and even entered politics. There was, in fact, in Cuba a counter-tradition to that of the closed societies of other countries in Latin America, which made it possible for women of the middle

inasmuch as some observers have cited it as proof that Cuba is a military state. The reasoning, as explained to me, is that experience has shown that in an emergency any army would be too small to defend the island. The only possibility for a successful defense is for the people themselves to repel the aggressor. To do this the people must learn to fight and the militia is the people, 250,000 of them. Members buy their own uniforms, receive no remuneration, and drill and study only after regular working hours. Women and men are usually in separate units, but they have the same indoctrination and training. In addition, the Cuban pattern may be distinguished from a military state because the values are constructive and creative. These individualistic and idealistic people are aflame with the excitement of building a better society. They see their militia training as a necessity from which they will not flinch in order to preserve their gains, in order not to betray their 20,000 martyrs.



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class to enter into life beyond the doorstep. As an island culture, Cuba was subject to influences from without and these, in the case of women, were in a progressive direction. Women are also freer in a secular society; and although the majority in Cuba are Catholics, people seem to be members more by rote than by fervor, and this has affected the position of women. Further, it must be remembered that Cuba has had earlier revolutions. The overthrow of Machado (1930-1933) also called forth the heroism of women so that, as a leader of that time told me, it didn't surprise anyone that the women fought in this Revolution: they have gained from it, she said, not recognition, but ratification of the recognition achieved 25 years ago. This may be a little strong, but it cannot be denied that women in Cuba obtained the right to vote in 1934 (first in Latin America) and that the Constitution of 1940 includes such provisions (still missing from our own federal legislation) as equal pay for equal work, prohibition of discrimination in employment, and maternity protections for working women. But laws must be implemented to be effective and under earlier governments they were often a dead letter. Discrimination in employment continued, domestic workers were excluded from maternity benefits, unequal pay was widespread.

In the new Cuba, the gains legally achieved so long ago are being translated into reality. Even more impressive, however, is the creative advance of the society as a whole and the effect of this movement on the lives of women. In the cooperative "Pedrin Troya" in the Havana district, the value of last year's crop was $95,000 of which $20,000 was earned by women stakers, pickers, and packers. I talked with the wife of one member still living in a *bohio* with a leaking roof. She was expecting a new house by the end of the year (construction was already in progress). Her children go to school (in 1943 almost two-thirds of Cuban children were not in school). Her husband now works all year whereas before the Revolution he had a job only 5 months regularly and 3 months sporadically. Since the cooperative has been functioning the members have had more meat than during the preceding 15 years. Working people in the country, she said, never expected to have a good house with minimum comforts. Now they have faith in such a future. In



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the squatter slums of the unemployed in Santiago, I observed a similar atmosphere of "engagement" and hope. Women join the men in the trucks transporting them to the self-help building sites. Here a new city of pastel-colored dwellings is rising through the labors of its future inhabitants. In the long sheds where the prefabricated wall panels are made, women twist the reinforcing wires and men pour cement. At noon they all proceed to the public dining room, a hut with rude tables where steaming food, brought from the central kitchen in huge canteens, is served without charge. (A hand painted sign elaborately decorated admonished: "In the dining room is your education/ Wash your hands/ Take off your sombreros/ Put on your shirt/ Do not quarrel/ Muchas Gracias.") I visited a family only three days in one of these new houses. The husband proudly showed me his deed and the document attesting that he had accumulated 1272 hours of work entitling him to a dwelling, without further payment. And the wife, with the children tumbling all about her, showed me the three bedrooms; the kitchen; the running water; the laundry tub; the electric light; the bathroom with tub, shower, basin, and toilet; the furniture; and the tiny garden.

Another creative advance is taking place in the field of social welfare. Crèches are being constructed to care for the children of working mothers. Since these do not yet meet the need, the women themselves through their own organization (the Federation of Women) are setting up a system of *"guarderias"* staffed by volunteers. Nourishment assistance provides lunch for school children. There are also popular dining rooms for the poor, workers' *comedores* near factories, and student halls in universities where complete meals are served free or for a nominal charge. All over the island, hospitals, clinics and maternity centers are being built and even in the far reaches of the Sierra Maestra medical care will be available.

Education too is progressing at a feverish rate, and this is changing women's lives in several ways. With the children at school (something not at all common in the old Cuba) the mother has more liberty during the day. And as she herself studies, or works, or drills with the militia, her horizons expand and she sees herself with a new dignity.



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I was particularly impressed by this quality at an unusual ceremony called "Operation Family," during which 1,500 couples in Havana (5,000 in all of Cuba) were married. The reason for such a mass wedding is that there were estimated to be as many as one million people in the country living together but not legally married. This resulted in part from difficulties (especially in rural areas) in formalizing unions, and in part from casual customs (developing perhaps from the time of slavery.) The new government has launched an intensive campaign to persuade these couples to marry, eliminating expense and simplifying procedure to this end. A legal union is of special advantage to women, since, if a man holds title to land, only his lawful wife can inherit. The same is true of the right to pensions, support, and other benefits. Children, too, are better protected in a legalized family; and, as the Minister of Justice stated during the ceremony: "The main thing is to give the child a legal home so that he will have a normal situation in society." When it was all over, I talked with some of the couples. One bride, who has three boys, told me she had not married before because of economic reasons. Another woman with a flower corsage and a "patria o muerte" badge had lived with the same man for 29 years. She attributed her failure to marry in the past to "paper problems." Now, she said, her four children have a name and can inherit the INAV (National Institute of Housing and Saving) house they are buying. A third new wife, a Negro woman, had been with her man for 20 years. She said she had decided to marry because "Fidel says we should," and she was happy to have the opportunity.

Many of the newlyweds were housewives. With unemployment still a major problem, it is not surprising that there is no active campaign to entice women out of the home and into the labor market. Nevertheless women are to be found in numerous trades and professions, in unions and in government. Even in the countryside women are being drawn into the new projects of diversified agriculture and budding industries. Further, given the present rate of growth of the Cuban economy, it is expected that unemployment will be solved in the next three to four years and women are being developed and trained for this future. They comprise half of the university student bodies;



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they are studying in community centers, in schools for adults, in women's clubs. An example cited to me is that of teachers, a profession largely composed of women, where it is expected there will be a shortage in one year. In preparation, recruitment of volunteers for training is already taking place.

There has been some criticism expressed because few women in Cuba are in top government posts, and even those that are, are in the "new" tradition of "women's work" (social welfare, housing, culture). This lag may be the result of meager opportunities in the past to develop in other areas. As one informant told me, "women of real political quality are still very few, as far as major leadership is concerned. Even in the professions, outstanding women are rare despite the fact that many graduate." It will take time, in her opinion, for women to move into the highest rank, but she is confident that in the new Cuba this will be achieved. In the low echelons, already, women are found in all categories and in increasing numbers for the very simple reason that their skills are needed. Professional people are in short supply and women are welcome.

This summer some 1,500 young people spent 100 days of rugged training in the Sierra Maestra to prepare themselves for teaching in the rough back country. About 50 percent were women. I asked one of the young men about this experience. He replied that the men thought the girls "would be cargo," but that in fact more men dropped out than women. As a result of working together, the lives of these volunteers became more interrelated, until "we began to see each other as physically different in unimportant ways but with the same ideals and ideas. That was important." The same philosophy was voiced by a veteran woman leader: "The Revolution has united the partners in matrimony. Both now are likely to be in the militia; they have the same activities, the same preoccupations, the same anxieties. This brings the spouses closer together in a more harmonious union."

The most suggestive comment I heard came from a social worker: "The women's revolution will come after the political revolution has been consolidated, but it may not be necessary by then."



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# WORLD EVENTS

*By Scott Nearing*

## Africa Turns Over and Stands Up

Africa has the independence-self-determination fever. Ten years ago the nations and peoples of Asia were turning their backs on imperialism and setting their faces toward a future in which they proposed to pick and choose for themselves. Mao Tse-tung described this about-face in China by saying: "The Chinese people have turned over and stood up." Today Africa's turn has come—with a rush.

Ten years ago the United Nations issued its summary of world population figures for 1949-1950. Under "Africa," four independent nations were named: Egypt, Ethopia, Liberia, and Union of South Africa. The rest of Africa (that is, almost all of it) was listed under the heading "non-self-governing territories and dependencies, trusteeship territory and former mandated territory." Part of the "non-self-governing territory" was Belgian, part was British, part was French, part was Portuguese, part was Spanish. Almost none of Africa was self-governing and still less was it run by Africans.

Take the case of the Union of South Africa, one of the four countries described by the United Nations as "self-governing." Self-governing? "Certainly," replied the white settlers and their descendants, "we govern South Africa." But the native Africans, who outnumbered the whites four to one, had neither voice nor vote in determining how South Africa was to be governed.

As late as ten years ago, practically all of Africa was ruled by white Europeans. The whites who made up a tiny minority of the African population had added most of Africa to "the white man's burden." White men occupied the best farmland, exploited the mineral resources, conscripted the labor, carried on most of the business, made and enforced most of the economic, political, and social policies, and pocketed the bulk of the profits. Colonial Africans were second or third class citizens on their own continent.



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Toward the war's end, in 1943, Marshal Jan Smuts of South Africa, sounded a warning. Africans are collectivists, he said. They belong to tribes which control the land and the livestock and decide public questions. In effect, the tribes are soviets. White men, for their own profit and power, have pushed Africans hard. One push too many and Communism, he said, will run through Africa as fire runs through dry brushwood.

General Smuts was nearly right. The fire of independence and self-determination which swept through Asia in the 1940's reached Africa in the 1950's. It burned so hot and ran so fast that even the Belgians agreed to independence for the Congo, tagged by Belgium as "the model colony." The Congo became independent in 1960.

### Belgian Armed Forces Hold the Congo

Congo's brief moment of independence ended in civil war, in the immediate reoccupation of the country by Belgian armed forces, in a token caretaker interim under United Nations auspices, and the establishment of an "independent" government under Belgian auspices in mineral-rich Katanga province. The Congo "reign of terror" and the race war of blacks exterminating whites, provided many screaming headlines in the United States press, held radio audiences briefly, and sold newspapers. Like so many news shockers, it was based on minor, local incidents blown up by scare headlines to gigantic proportions.

By all odds, the best account we have seen of recent events in the Congo was contained in a statement made by an African, President Kwame Nkhrumah of Ghana, in the United Nations Assembly on September 23, 1960. (*New York Times*, September 24, 1960.)

One cardinal fact of our time is the momentous impact of Africa's awakening upon the modern world. The flowing tide of African nationalism sweeps everything before it and constitutes a challenge to the colonial powers to make a just restitution for the years of injustice and crime committed against our continent. . . . Africa wants her freedom; Africa must be free. It is a simple call, but it is also a signal lighting a red warning to those who would tend to ignore it.

For years and years Africa has been the footstool of colonialism



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and imperialism, exploitation and degradation. From the north to the south, from the east to the west, her sons languished in the chains of slavery and humiliation, and Africa's exploiters and self-appointed controllers of her destiny strode across our land with incredible inhumanity, without mercy, without shame, and without honor. Those days are gone and gone forever. And now I, an African, stand before this august assembly of the United Nations and speak with a voice of peace and freedom, proclaiming to the world the dawn of a new era. . . .

The Congo, as we all know, has been a Belgian colony for nearly a century. In all those years Belgium applied a system of calculated political castration in the hope that it would be completely impossible for African nationalists to fight for emancipation. . . . The high positions in the army, the police and the public services have been the exclusive preserves of the Belgians. No African could hope to rise to the lowest commissioned rank in the army. The whole of the Force Publique was subject to extremely harsh discipline and had very low rates of pay. This situation made it impossible to build up a cadre of indigenous personnel to man the services. . . .

Great discontent resulted. Even so, the situation might not have erupted had the Belgian commander of the Force Publique adopted a realistic attitude toward the men and made any attempt to redress the legitimate grievances of the Congolese soldiers. Even a promise of future reform might have done some good. On the contrary, emphatic statements were indiscreetly made by Belgian officers that nothing had changed and that life would go on much the same way as before independence. In short, the soldiers were told that independence was a sham and that Belgium still wielded the big stick. This produced the mutiny.

When the mutiny occurred, large numbers of Belgians began to leave the country. The President of the Republic, Mr. Kasavubu, and the Prime Minister, Mr. Lumumba, went to Matadi in order to appeal to the Belgians to remain. But instead, they were all taken on board a ship on the advice of the Belgian Consul. The next day the town was machine-gunned from the air by Belgian military aircraft and shelled from the sea. Despite the fact that there were no Belgian civilians whatever to protect, Belgian troops entered the town and shot in cold blood a number of unarmed police and civilians.

It was following upon this incident that acts of organized violence by members of the Force Publique began to occur. These



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incidents, in their turn, provided an occasion for Belgian military intervention.

Meanwhile, ostensibly on the grounds of safeguarding the lives of Belgians in the province, Belgian troops entered Katanga in considerable numbers and enabled the Chairman of the Provincial Council, Moise Tshombe, to set himself up as the head of a so-called independent state. The whole of the administration of this so-called state was in Belgian hands and it was supported and maintained openly by Belgian troops. The situation was thus one of extreme danger. The Belgian Army was virtually occupying the Congo, pleading as their excuse circumstances which were fundamentally all of Belgium's own making. . . .

What has happened in the Congo has more than justified my continuous outcry against the threat of Balkanization in Africa and more than justified my daily condemnation of neo-colonialism, the process of handing independence over to the African people with one hand only to take it away with the other hand. . . .

It is quite clear that a desperate attempt is being made to create confusion in the Congo, extend the "cold war" to Africa, and involve Africa in the suicidal quarrels of foreign powers. The United Nations must not allow this to happen.

We, for our part, will not allow this to happen. That is why we are anxious that the United Nations, having reached a point where intervention on the side of the legitimate government of the Congo appears to be the obvious and only answer to this crisis, should act boldly through the medium of the independent Africa states.

### International Implications

Belgium does not stand alone in the Congo. Its valuable and strategic mineral resources are owned and operated by international business enterprises in which British and United States business interests are importantly represented. An article by Hyman Lumer in *Political Affairs* for September, 1960, "U.S. Imperialism and the Congo," covers this topic and brings the reader up to date. The Congo is still an economic colony of Western Big Business, guarded by Western troops with Western-made machine guns. The United Nations, as political handyman of Western diplomacy, has played an important part in this political coup.

Western businessmen (with their political and military



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henchmen) have two objectives in the Congo. The first is to exploit the uranium, copper, and other natural resources. The second is to prevent, at any cost (including civil war and international war), the Soviet Union and its allies from establishing a center of influence in Central Africa.

The economic aspect of the Congo controversy was emphasized by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, American Negro elder statesman, student, traveller, and writer, in an article "The World Must Wake Soon to Bar War in Africa" (*National Guardian,* September 26). "Little Belgium had inherited El Dorado. Hundreds of millions of dollars poured into Belgium annually from a great territory forty times its size. In this empire was one of the world's greatest deposits of copper. . . . palm oil, fruit, rare woods, fibers; and lately, uranium for bombs to raise hell. . . . Ranged against free and independent Congo is the Oppenheimer Gold and Diamond Trust; the Lever Brothers world monopolies under its legion of names; the oil trusts, Standard, Shell and others; the French, Swiss, and West German cartels, and that part of the Christian church and Moslem religion which is dependent on the charity of the rich."

### At the Summit, in New York

On September 19, 1960, the Soviet ship *Baltika* reached Pier 73 on New York's East River. Aboard were six chiefs of state, from Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, the Soviet Union, Ukrainia, and White Russia. On the pier, greeting the new arrivals, were chiefs of state from Czechoslovakia and Poland, making, in all, eight leaders of the Communist world who were entering the United States by way of the United Nations.

We pass over the chilly petulance and discourtesy of the White House and the caustic disapproval of the State Department; the restriction of Premier Khrushchev to Manhattan Island; the refusal of hotels to harbor "known Communists"; and the childish editorials and Letters to the Editor demanding that something be done to check this desecration of American soil by alien "butchers" and "murderers."

The significant result of this "invasion" was a meeting at the summit (prevented earlier in the year by the unwarranted incursion of a United States observation plane into Soviet air



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space) and consummated in September by the presence at the UN Assembly of Chiefs of State from all important socialist-building countries except People's China and Albania. This array of top-ranking socialist political figures literally forced the attendance of their opposite numbers from the imperialist countries, of the nations recently freed from colonialism, and members of the neutral bloc. As the date set for the UN Assembly meeting drew nearer, top-flight political leaders streamed into New York. The great majority came from Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The United Nations is no longer an exclusive club of Western politicians and their supine dependents, with a minority of tolerated outsiders. Seventeen nations, all former colonies, have been voted into the UN this year, raising its membership from 82 to 99 nations.

Most of the delegation leaders in the September Assembly held one hope in common: to lessen tensions, to reduce armaments, to end the cold war and stabilize international relations. To this end it was necessary that representatives of the United States and the Soviet Union (the Big Two world powers) get together and agree on a program of coexistence. Premier Khrushchev heartily approved the two-way meeting. He went further and suggested that he and President Eisenhower be locked in a room and kept there until an agreement was reached. President Eisenhower hesitated and hedged. A resolution urging such a meeting was presented to the UN Assembly, signed by five sponsors: Nasser of the United Arab Republic, Nehru of India, Nkhrumah of Ghana, Sukarno of Indonesia, and Tito of Yugoslavia.

President Eisenhower's administration had opposed the summit idea from the beginning, unless the Soviet Union, by deeds as well as words, indicated its readiness to negotiate on terms acceptable to the United States. In his letter answering the proposal of the neutral nations for a two-way conference, President Eisenhower wrote: "If Soviet representatives would wish to discuss concrete measures to reduce tensions, my representatives, including the Secretary of State, are always available for this purpose. Should such exploratory discussions reveal that the Soviet Union is prepared to return to the path of peaceful nego-



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tiations with some prospect of fruitful results, then I personally would be prepared to meet and negotiate with the representative of the Soviet Government and with the heads of other governments as their interests were involved." This reply closed the door on an immediate Big Two meeting.


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1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

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5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: No. 6366.

Leo Huberman, co-editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 20th day of September, 1960. James Hanratty, Notary Public, State of New York. No. 30-1666450. Nassau County. Term Expires March 30, 1961.

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(*continued from inside front cover*)

October 18th, "gives compulsory courses in Marxism. The chief text, on sale for a few pennies everywhere, is *The ABC of Socialism* written in 1953 by an American, Leo Huberman. It is full of dire statements about life in the United States and praise for the Soviet Union." The description leaves something to be desired, and there is no excuse for omitting co-author Sybil May. But the news is excellent.

Which reminds us that *The ABC of Socialism* has just been reprinted and is now available again (50¢ a copy, $2 for 5 copies, $5 for 13 copies). Also reprinted and available are Einstein's *Why Socialism?* (15¢ per copy, $1 for 7 copies, $5 for 40 copies), and Sweezy's *Marxian Socialism* (35¢ per copy, $1 for 3 copies, $5 for 20 copies).

Other news of MR Press pamphlets: *Waste in American Medicine,* from the September issue, is now in pamphlet form (35¢ per copy, $1 for 3 copies, $5 for 20 copies). And *The Theory of U.S. Foreign Policy,* the three-part editorial from the September, October, and November issues, will soon be issued as a pamphlet (35¢ per copy, $1 for 3 copies, $5 for 20 copies). Finally, our pamphlet packet, containing eight pamphlets (see ad on p. 386), which usually sells for $2.95 is now available at the Xmas sale price of $2.00.

Other special Xmas offers, which we strongly urge you to take advantage of, are: 2 copies of the cloth edition of *Cuba: Anatomy of a Revolution* for $5 (value=$7); a one-year sub and the cloth *Cuba* for $6 (value=$7.50); and 3 one-year subs for $10 (value=$12). If you want your gift subs to start with the Cuba issue, you'd better hurry: we have only a few copies of the issue left and orders will be filled strictly on a first-come-first-served basis. See back cover for details.

The Japanese are a strange and wonderful people—they really buy and read books. Renewed proof of this came a few days ago when we received a report on the publication of the Japanese edition of Fritz Pappenheim's *The Alienation of Modern Man.* An edition of 16,000 copies was put on the market by the big publishing firm of Iwanami Shoten on July 18th. It completely sold out the first day! Since then 8,000 additional copies have been printed and distributed. Kenzo Awata, the book's translator, formerly a professor of philosophy, and now on the editorial staff of Iwanami Shoten, writes that the problem of alienation is much discussed in Japan but that "We have not so far had such a brilliant, concrete analysis of the problem as Dr. Pappenheim's book presents." May we remind MR readers that *The Alienation of Modern Man* is yours for the asking plus $4?

Unfortunately, as we have had to announce before in this space, the price of an MR sub must be raised as of January 1 to $5 for one year and $9 for two. But until January you can renew for as many years as you like at the present lower rates. Act now and save! Better still, if you have not already renewed through the Associates, why not join right away—renewal of your sub is automatic.

Friends of Scott Nearing in the New York area will be glad to learn that he is planning to give a lecture on November 11 and two courses of lectures during the following two weeks. For details, see page 399.

Last month we invited readers to send us lists of the ten books that were most important to their own socialist education, including a brief note telling why each book was important. If you haven't yet sent in your list, please do so now: there is still time.



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